589 595 162 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.

Division of Labor

● 511 461 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost universally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the [556] [185] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any accumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances warrant. [854] [484] For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

177 the thoroughly civilized centers, but the European elements are so much more
178 numerous that Indian culture has there quite disappeared as such.

This trend has occasionally been checked or reversed temporarily, but in
[174] the long run it seems to be inevitable. If Fray Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos were the ancestors of our Kamarakotos, they had in some respects been as much affected by European culture by 1800 as they have again now, and in the meantime reverted to a definitely more aboriginal condition. Whether true of this tribe or not, such was the history of some tribes as the conquistadors and missionaries advanced in the Orinoco Basin and then retreated again. Now another forward movement is well under way and the usual forward trend is re-established and is likely to be permanent.

000 Supposing that this trend continues, as it will unless checked by unpredictable disaster, the eventual complete "Venezolanization" of the Kamarakotos is inevitable in the usual, unguided course of social evolution, a result that means the certain extinction of Kamarakoto culture and the possible extinction of the Kamarakotos themselves, surely the loss of their identity. This final result can hardly eventuate before Kamarata is reached by wheeled traffic, of which there is already some prospect but which is not very likely in the visible future. The end may thus be slow in coming, but it appears inevitable.

Apart from any sentimental considerations, it will be deplorable, indeed tragic, if this natural process is allowed to go on without check or guidance. On humanitarian, social, and economic grounds, it is strongly desirable in the first place that Kamarakoto culture (and these remarks apply to all of the many other tribes in a similar situation) should not be uprooted faster than the Kamarakotos can adapt themselves to new ways. This uprooting is the "natural" event and it is one that the usual agencies, religious[235] and civil, often promote rather than prevent. In the second place it is no less desirable that the useful and admirable elements of Kamarakoto culture, which will in the ordinary way disappear just as completely as the undesirable elements and probably sooner than the latter, should be saved and perpetuated.

In the promotion of health, civilization has at least an antidote to offer against the new diseases that it will introduce, and it could considerably im-
[731] prove the present mortality record of the Kamarakotos. It can also guard them against famines such as are said to have occurred infrequently in the past. Aside from these points, it is hard to see how the Indians stand to gain anything by
● [511] being "civilized." They are remarkably happy now, poverty is unknown, and hunger and misery are not the common lot but rare historic occurrences. The Kamarakotos already know thoroughly well how to live in their own environment. No white man can teach them: on the contrary, if white men attempt to colonize and to become self-supporting in this region they are sure to find that they can do so at present only by learning the technique from the Indians. I think no impartial observer would deny that the average Kamarakoto is now mentally

235 [See footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 281]

000 happier and materially more comfortable than the average man in the civilized parts of Venezuela and that the Indian would be unwise voluntarily to adopt the mode of life of the latter.

511 [235] Poverty is unknown in Kamarakoto society because each household can readily secure by its own reasonable efforts almost everything that it needs not only to sustain but also to enjoy life. Native skill and industry are such that almost none of the imports are absolute necessities, and these too can easily be [439] acquired. A household may over a period of years need a couple of knives and machetes, a dozen fishhooks, five or six meters of cloth, and a half kilo or so of beads to fill all its requirements and desires beyond what it can supply itself. There is no household so poor that it cannot obtain these few objects.

000 But when people have to buy most of what they use, poverty becomes possible and inevitable. An Indian who must wear purchased clothing, instead of making his scantier native garments, who cannot build a house without a saw, hammer, and nails, who must buy saucepans instead of making clay pots, who requires bags and chests and the like because he cannot weave baskets, who must buy a bed because he cannot make a hammock, who, in short, depends on imported substitutes for what his ancestors made for themselves — such an Indian becomes poor almost automatically. In the first place, and specifically in this region, the supply of such things is not adequate even if their purchase price were available. The Indian who depends on them must thus lower his standard of living materially below the aboriginal level if he does not have the aboriginal skills.

This is the first point on which a concrete suggestion as to the guidance of the social trend in the region can be made: not to permit an Indian to become dependent on anything with which he is not reasonably sure to be adequately supplied for the rest of his life. For instance, not to tell him that it is immoral to go without trousers, if he is not certain to be able to buy another pair when those he has wear out, or not to teach him how to build a house only with European tools, if he is going to live where he will be unable to get such tools.[236]

Even when sufficient supplies of manufactured articles are available, which is decidedly not true anywhere in this region today but perhaps will be eventually, the Indian is impoverished by their very variety. He desires more of them than he did of his own less varied products. This is supposed to raise the standard of living. It is only reasonable to doubt whether it makes for greater happiness or well-being, but this question is purely academic since the stimulation of desire does occur and can hardly be controlled in any way. In practice the result may really be not a raising but a lowering of the general standard of living, not only because relatively unnecessary objects may be obtained in preference to necessities, but also and mainly because the Indian is not now spending his labor directly and efficiently on his own scale of living, but is using it for trade in an open market against workmen of still lower standards and to pay

236 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 — Analyst]